1: Grigson G-5 (1927-1934) 1949
AW32 Gond AW32
Hill Maria
Bison Horn Maria

Chapter VII

Agriculture

The whole life of the Maria is primarily directed towards the raising of food from the earth, either by cultivation, or by gathering the fruits of the forest, or by fishing, hunting or trapping. His agriculture, as we have seen, determines the sites of his villages, and regulates his relations with his wife. His festivals, it will be seen, are designed either to ensure the benevolence of the earth and the ancestors and the clan-god towards the crops about to be sown, or to celebrate the first eating of each of the main crops, and the final harvest-home, in a spirit of communal thanksgiving. The human population to him is the crop of men that the *Bhum* or Earth raises for the clan, or for the Ruling Chief.

The Hill Maria still regards the crops as the result of the combined labours of the village rather than of the labours of individuals. If one suffers, all suffer, and all combine to support the old and the needy, and to help each fellow villager to get through the heaviest parts of the yearly agricultural round. The young man on marriage, or the fellow clansman settling in the village, must have his share of the village lands for cultivation. In the raising of crops, then, the village and not the individual cultivator is the unit, even now, in the Abujhmar hills. But the Bison-horn Maria is an individualist. He has lived long in contact with semi-Hinduized neighbours, and has long begun to practise the more advanced methods of the settled cultivator. Permanent cultivation fosters individualism. Even in the Abujhmar hills the few permanent rice fields are definitely the private property of individuals; and as the use of the plough spreads and more and more of the wet lands become permanent rice fields, the owners of these fields begin more and more to assert in their shifting cultivation plots the rights of permanent private ownership already admitted in their rice fields. This has already happened among the Bison-horn Marias, aided by the rapid growth of population increasing the pressure on the land and reducing the land available for distribution to newcomers to the villages. The indications are that formerly they shared the communal attitude of the Hill Maria. In describing, therefore, the agricultural life of the community, I shall deal primarily with that of the Hill Marias, indicating where necessary the different developments among the Bison-horn Marias.

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It will be convenient to describe here the religious ceremonies of the Hill Marias, so bound up are they with their agriculture; but as the agricultural ceremonies of the Bison-horn Marias are much more elaborate, it will be more appropriate to describe them in dealing with religion in Part IV. Unless, therefore, I state otherwise, the ceremonies mentioned in this chapter will be those of the Hill Marias only.

In previous chapters, when speaking of the shifting cultivation of the Marias, the term which I have generally used is *penda*.

Systems of cultivation

Central Provinces literature has used the general terms *dahia* or *bewar* indiscriminately for all forms of cultivation in which crops are raised on the ashes of trees felled and burned for that purpose. In Bastar *dahi* is the Halbi term applied to the system of cutting trees or brushwood in the forest, and bringing them to an old unembanked field, where they are spread out to dry and then fired just before the rains break. Such fields are always level, and not hill slopes. The practice is known to the Hill and the Bison-horn Marias, and called *parka*; but as it is usually applied to old fields that have lain fallow (or occasionally to a rice field which is to be sown with a dry crop), the Hill Marias make little use of it, but will take more to it now that the substitution of a poll-tax for the former attempt to impose a regular land revenue settlement is encouraging them to re-cultivate old rice fields and to bring the flat *marhan* lands under cultivation. It can be seen in the villages between Orcha and Chhota Dongar, on the edge of the Hill Maria country, where the hills begin to open out into broad valleys.

Flat lands covered with forest growth which is cleared from time to time and burned for shifting cultivation are known in the Halbi language as *marhan*. The forest growth is felled *in situ* and spread out to dry in January or February; it is fired towards the end of May, and the ashes are spread evenly over the soil with an instrument like a squeegee with a handle eleven or twelve feet long, called *dosna-dang* in Halbi and *parka-lathi* by the Marias; as the name makes it clear, this is used for spreading the ashes in *parka* or *dahi* cultivation also. The ashes are ploughed into the ground after the first fall of rain. *Marhan* cultivation is called *dippa* by Murias and Hill Marias, and *erka* by the Bison-horn Marias, who subdivide it further into *mudur-erka* or timber forest *marhan*, and *marram-erka* or scrub-jungle *marhan*. These flat lands can be cultivated for only two years normally; in the first year the undergrowth is cut, the smaller trees and some boughs of big trees, while the big trees are girdled. To provide ashes for the second year, the big trees girdled the year before are felled, after piles of

2: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1947 AW32 Gond AW32
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PREFACE

THE subject of this book is the ghotul, the village dormitory, the bothle, the bachelors' hall—*Jünglingshaus* is an attractive German word used recently by Ruben—of the Muria of Bastar State. Similar institutions are widely distributed among communities of the Austro-Asiatic cultures, though none have been studied in sufficient detail for full comparison. But on the existing evidence it seems probable that the Bastar ghotul is one of the most highly developed and carefully organized in the world. For what is a village guardroom for the Naga, a boys' club among the Uraon, a refuge for temporary sexual association in Indonesia, is for the Muria the centre of social and religious life.

The study of an institution that is related functionally to every aspect of a tribe's life presents certain technical difficulties of presentation. The culture pattern must be developed in due order; but this means that there will be many references in the earlier chapters that can only be explained later on. A book of this kind, where everything fits in, which describes a culture that is integrated and intelligible, has to be read in bulk—as it were—rather than in sequence. For the reader's convenience, therefore, I give here a brief introductory account of the ghotul in the light of which Part I must be read.

The Muria ghotul is an institution, tracing its origin to Lingo Pen, a famous cult-hero of the Gond, of which all the unmarried boys and girls of the tribe must be members. This membership is carefully organized; after a period of testing, boys and girls are initiated and given a special title which carries with it a graded rank and social duties. Leaders are appointed to organize and discipline the society; throughout this book I call the boys' leader the Sirdar and the girls' leader the Belosa. Boy members are known as chelik and girl members as motiari. The relations between chelik and motiari are governed by the type of ghotul to which they belong. Two distinct types of organization are recognized. In the older, classical, type of ghotul, boys and girls pair off in a more or less permanent relationship which lasts till marriage. They are often 'married' and cohabit in the dormitory for several years. In the more modern form of ghotul, such exclusive associations are forbidden and partners must constantly be changed.

Chelik and motiari have important duties to perform on all social occasions. The boys act as acolytes at festivals, the girls as bridesmaids at weddings. Both dance before the clan-god and at the great fairs. They form a choir at the funerals of important people. Their games and dances enliven village life and redeem it from the crushing monotony that is its normal characteristic in other parts of India.

The intimate association of the ghotul with every aspect of Muria life means, of course, that we must study the whole of that life in less or greater detail. The ghotul must be put in its place. For this reason I have divided the book into two Parts. Part I gives the setting and background, Part II describes the life of the chelik and motiari in detail.

In Part I, I begin with a description of the geopolitical background of the tribe, and give a brief account of the three elements that compose it—the Jhoria, who are Hill Maria now settled in the plains, the Muria immigrants from the north, and the very old aboriginal population of eastern Kondagaon. In Chapter II, I describe the economic life of the Muria; the ghotul is only a night club; all day its members are engrossed in the quest for food and drink. The chelik are kept busy in both axe- and plough-cultivation, hunting, fishing,

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● 128 gathering honey, tapping the sago-palm, collecting fuel. The motiari not only work very hard at home, but they go out for roots, wild fruit and myrabolams, to pick broad leaves for plates, cups and pipes, to fish and to express oil.

Chapter III describes the organization of the tribe by clans and families, a matter of absorbing interest to the chelik and motiari since it controls their relations with one another and directs their ultimate matrimonial alliances. I then give three chapters to discussing the course of Muria life, and take the reader right through a Muria's history from birth to death. It was difficult to decide where to put the long and rather tedious chapter on the marriage ceremonies, but I finally decided to put it here rather than in Part II where it would have unduly disturbed the sequence of my argument. This section, though tedious enough, is of great importance, for throughout it the ghotul members are in the centre of the stage and are rarely seen to better advantage.

Chapters VII and VIII describe Muria religion and mythology. The ghotul system derives from and is vitalized by the legend of Lingo Pen, which I discuss in the greatest detail. The dormitory is itself a shrine protected by supernatural forces and full of uncanny power; I show how intimately it is connected with the religious life of the tribe.

We are now in a position to turn to the main subject of the book—the ghotul itself. Chapter IX discovers many parallels to the Bastar institution in other cultures and suggests reasons for its origin; one of the most interesting of these is the Muria's desire to prevent his children from witnessing 'the primal scene'. This leads to an account of the relations of parents and children. I then describe the ghotul buildings, the different types of ghotul organization, ceremonies of initiation and the appointment of leaders, and in Chapter XIII I give a typical evening in the ghotul according to its jealously preserved procedure. Other chapters deal with dress and fashions, dreams, games and dances, riddles and folk-tales.

In Chapter XVI, I describe frankly, but I trust without offence, the ghotul's attitude to sex, and in the following chapter attempt a solution of the problem of infertile pre-marital promiscuity. Final chapters attempt to relate the ideas of this remarkable institution to the tribe's attitude to marriage and morality.

It is little wonder that the Muria should regard their ghotul with passionate and loyal devotion. The word so often used to describe it, *parmakoro* or *parmangkor*, 'lovely as the horns of bison', reveals its tender and romantic associations. Its joys are celebrated in a score of songs.

Pupal kusir bida he dewa,	Good as the taste of *urad* pulse,
Laya ra udna bida helo.	So was your life with the chelik, sister.

The road leading to its door is like a jackal's tail; the first ghotul had a roof of peacock feathers and a door of ogre's bones. It was 'beautiful as a horse's throat'. If a Muria wants to describe water that is fresh and sparkling, he calls it *chelik sundar pāni*, 'water beautiful as a chelik'.

My chapters on life in the ghotul will probably be of greater interest to the general reader, but throughout the book I have tried to find the synthesis of the whole culture, to see Muria life as a coherent living entity, as a thing logical, dignified and beautiful. In every investigation of a civilization not one's own, there comes—usually only after months or years of routine investigation, tedious checking and the patient accumulation of facts—a moment of sudden glory when one sees everything fall into place, when the

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colours of the pattern are revealed, and one finds oneself no longer an alien and an outsider, but within. 128●

It is easier to reach this point among the Muria than in other tribes, for Muria life revolves round the ghotul and the problem is thus simplified. I doubt indeed if the ghotul could exist in another kind of society, a society less free from rivalry and competition, less subject to jealousy, less gentle and tolerant. It could not, I think, be a feature of a disintegrating tribal society; if the ghotul should disappear, we should know that the Muria had begun the long descent to degradation and collapse that has affected many Indian tribes. At present Muria culture and society is complete, close-knit, organized, loyal to itself; the Muria has a full and happy life; and a great part of his unity and happiness depends on the ghotul. There has never been official interference in his religion and culture; the reformer and missionary have been kept far from him. For he has the advantage of living under an administration that has been conducted for many years by officials with scholarship, sympathy and imagination, and his life has been little disturbed, except—as we shall see—by occasional travellers and subordinates.

To the outsider, whether he be a subordinate official, a wandering merchant or a casual visitor to the State, the most important thing about the ghotul, the thing that at once arouses his sniggering curiosity and excitement—is the sexual relation between chelik and motiari. It is probably true to say that many people who live all their lives among the Muria hardly ever realize that the sexual relation is secondary and the magical, religious and social aspects of ghotul life predominant in the Muria's mind. I hope that no one will put down this book without reading, if he reads nothing else, the chapter on 'Moral Standards in the Ghotul'; he will then see that his suspicions of the ghotul as a place of sexual licence are unfounded. If there is licence there is also taboo; if youth has freedom it moves on into a life of strictest decorum. Muria life may be described as having in its pre-nuptial period many of the features of Huxley's *Brave New World*, but in its post-nuptial period the atmosphere of the poems of Tennyson.

But there is, of course, a simple, sensuous and passionate sex-life in the ghotul, and I have described it fully. As it still seems necessary to justify such freedom of description, I will quote the words of two great scholars which, with the quotations that I have put at the beginning of the book, should surely be enough to satisfy all but the most unintelligent. The Rev. E. W. Smith is one of the greatest of African missionaries and was for many years Literary Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. His book on the Ba-ila is a model of scientific research. On the subject of the relations of the sexes, he writes,

> There is much that is unpleasant in this part of our subject—much that we would fain pass over in silence. But if we are to be faithful to our purpose to give a true picture of the Ba-ila, we must not dwell upon what R. L. Stevenson called 'the prim, obliterated, polite surface of life', but must lay bare 'the broad, bawdy and orgiastic—or maenadic—foundations'. To write of the Ba-ila and omit all reference to sex would be like writing of the sky and leaving out the sun; for sex is the most pervasive element of their life. It is the atmosphere into which the children are brought. Their early years are largely a preparation for the sexual function; during the years of maturity it is their most ardent pursuit, and old age is spent in vain and disappointing endeavours to continue it. Sex overtowers all else. . . We desire to look at even these things from their point of view. Our object is not to hold them

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128 up to reprobation, but simply to describe and understand. To them, the union of the sexes is on the same plane as eating and drinking, to be indulged in without stint on every possible occasion.[1]

Among the Muria, where sex is regarded as something much higher than eating and drinking and the technique of love has been developed to an almost ideal level, it is obviously still more necessary that we should study this subject. To such a study we may also apply wise words of Malinowski.

> In anthropology the essential facts of life must be stated simply and fully, though in scientific language, and such a plain statement cannot really offend the most delicately minded nor the most prejudiced reader; nor can it be of any use to the seeker after pornography; least of all can it entice the unripe interest of the young. For pruriency consists in oblique day-dreaming and not in simple and direct statement. The reader will find that the natives treat sex in the long run not only as a source of pleasure, but, indeed, as a thing serious and even sacred. Nor do their customs and ideas eliminate from sex its power to transform crude material fact into wonderful spiritual experience, to throw the romantic glamour of love over the technicalities of love-making.[2]

114 The neglect of the village dormitory as a subject of research, not only in Bastar but throughout the world, is astonishing.[3] In English, Hutton Webster's *Primitive Secret Societies* deals only with the men's houses from which women are rigorously omitted. In German there is the standard work by Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* on age-groups and men's societies, a study by C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *Das Junggesellenhaus im Westlichen Hinterindien*,[4] on the social functions of the dormitories in Further India, and a chapter in *Völker und Kulturen* by Schmidt and Koppers which deals with age-grades and the social functions of the dormitories. For the institution as maintained by specific tribes, we have hints and scattered details in many books, but full-dress accounts are rare. In India the most detailed are C. von Fürer-Haimendorf's on the Konyak Naga and S. C. Roy's on the Uraon. In Africa Leakey has given some valuable information about the intimate life in the *manyatta* of the Masai, and Malinowski has an illuminating account of the Trobriand *bukumatula*. But compared to what might have been written on so fascinating and important a subject comparatively little has yet been attempted.

Moreover the great museums of ethnographic fact also ignore the subject. There is only a passing reference in Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* to the institution, though one would have thought it highly relevant to his discussion of the hypothesis of primitive promiscuity. Briffault is equally silent, so is Frazer. Nor does Unwin, in a book largely devoted to a study of pre-nuptial chastity, *Sex and Culture*, pay any attention to the evidence (scanty enough, yet of great importance) from the village dormitory. Hambly, in his *Origins of Education among Primitive People*, mentions the dormitory, but hardly accords it its rightful place as one of the most powerful agents of

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia* (London, 1920), Vol. II, p. 36.

[2] B. Malinowski, *The Sexual Life of Savages* (London, 1932), p. xiv.

[3] Long ago Peal noticed the same thing. : 'The paucity of references to the Morong in many standard works relating to the Indo-Pacific region, is most extraordinary.'—S. E. Peal, 'On the Morong as possibly a Relic of Pre-marriage Communism', *JAI*, Vol. XXII (1893), p. 255.

[4] In *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, Vol. I (1930). I owe the references to the continental literature to C. von Fürer-Haimendorf.

3: Elwin E-5 (1935-1942) 1943
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'impulse, opposite in aim to the first, such as a fear of consequences, but it must be a fear stimulated by something present at the moment. Resultingly, the intellectual mechanisms of foresight, judgement and self-control are readily submerged by the instinctive impulse.[1]

I have described the two maps given in this book as 'Sketches', for that is what they are. It is in any case difficult to plot the Maria village-area, for many of the larger villages consist of a dozen or so hamlets spread over four or five miles yet all bearing the same name. Moreover, war conditions make it desirable that exact and informative maps should not be prepared at the present time. The reader, therefore, must accept these Sketches as being only rough indications of the location of the more important villages and the general lay-out of the countryside.

I have not burdened these pages with many cross-references. The two Summaries at the end of the book give the names of the murderers and suicides in alphabetical order, the clan-name in each case coming first. The Summary of homicides enables the reader to trace the sentence and subsequent history of each of the main characters in the book and also to see at a glance the entire outline of Maria crime.

My first friend in Bastar was Mr E. S. Hyde, I.C.S., a life-long champion of the aboriginals and the ally of every sincere supporter of their cause. The assistance given by him and Mr A. N. Mitchell was continued by their successor, Mr K. Radhakrishnan, I.C.S. At every stage of my enquiries I had the sympathetic interest of Dr W. P. S. Mitchell, M.B.E. Dr Mitchell has been for many years the Superintendent of the Jail at Jagdalpur and is extremely popular among the prisoners. Every ex-convict with whom I have talked has praised him, and indeed he reminds me of what Dostoeffsky says about the good-natured Russian Prison Governor who treated his men as equals. 'They did not love him, they adored him. I do not remember that they ever permitted themselves to be disrespectful or familiar. On the contrary when he met the Governor the convict's face suddenly lighted up; he smiled largely, cap in hand, even to see him approach.' Another popular figure in the Bastar Jail was Dr

[1] B. J. F. Laubscher, *Sex, Custom and Psychopathology* (London, 1937), p. 302.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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Scheme under which instruction in reading and writing Gondi and later Marathi and Urdu was to be provided for both children and adults. On my return to Marlavai we started work on a small scale with a school where adult Gonds were to be trained as teachers and village-officers. The work on this Scheme kept us in Marlavai until the end of January 1944, and it was there that most of the chapters contained in Book I were written. After an absence of five months in Assam, we returned in the rains for a short period and this gave me the opportunity of checking my Gondi texts with the help of the Headmaster of the Marlavai Training Centre Mr. S. B. Jogalkar and the Gond teachers, some of whom had meanwhile opened schools in their own villages.[1]

The division of the present work into two books was necessitated by its bulk and by the fact that a sudden opportunity for two expeditions into one of the least known tribal areas of the North-East Frontier prevented us from concentrating on the completion of the second part.

In the presentation of facts we have departed from the usual order of a straight monograph; instead of grouping them under such headings as material culture, agriculture, or religion, we have attempted an arrangement which, we hope, will give a better idea of Gond life as an organic entity. After the introductory chapters, which describe the physical and cultural environment, we have set a section outlining the mythical background of Gond culture and the cult of the clan-deities; for in this cult and the sacred myths lies the mainspring of the social order. Then follows a section describing the economic and ritual activities of a village community throughout the cycle of the year, and the three chapters of this section contain also most of the information on agriculture, the basis of Gond economics. Book II will open with an account of the phases of life, from childhood to death, and this will set the stage for a general discussion of the social organization and the principles of Gond religion, all details of ritual having been described already in their proper setting. The old feudal system looms still in the background of the social order, and I am attempting a reconstruction based on the existing remnants and local traditions contained mainly in the stories and songs of Pardhans. Read together with Wills' history of the Gond States of the Central Provinces this will perhaps give a certain idea of political and social life prevailing in Gondwana throughout the greater part of mediæval times.

The final chapters of the book will be concerned with the developments of the last fifty years, when increased contact with other populations broke up the Gonds' feudal organization and land-hungry immigrants drove many families from the lands where they had lived since the times of their ancestors. It is a dismal tale of the decline of a once proud and happy people, the loss of economic freedom, and the birth

[1] Cf. my article 'Aboriginal Education in Hyderabad.' *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. V, 1944.

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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of a timid and resigned outlook in place of the manly spirit of old. Finally I propose to discuss the results of the more liberal policy towards the aboriginals which H.E.H. the Nizam's Government has pursued since 1944, and to outline the principles and the first stages of the Gond Education Scheme, which is designed to help the Gonds in the struggle for existence and to restore to them self-respect and pride in their own ancient culture.

In an account of a culture as rich and complex as that of the Raj Gonds the anthropologist must needs concentrate on certain aspects, and in this book I have given first place to the Gonds' mythology and their complex ritual, sanctioned and sustained in almost every phase by mythical precedents. This part of Gond culture is rapidly disintegrating and its study, still possible in the hills of Utnur and Asifabad Taluqs, would come too late in the more open parts of the District. Problems of psychology and the more intimate matters of the individual's life, on the other hand, are only fleetingly touched upon, but I believe that changes in this sphere are not as rapid and the time left for their study is consequently far less limited.

Although this book is not a treatise on linguistics, Gondi texts of some length have found a place in many chapters. I noted them when collecting my material and as they are the first recorded specimens of the pecular Gondi spoken in Adilabad, I do not feel justified in withholding them from the student of Indian languages. All have been checked and rechecked with several informants, but this is no guarantee of absolute accuracy, for Gonds, like the speakers of most unwritten languages, are often careless about rules of grammar and not very sensitive to slight slips in a text read out to them. The recording, moreover, is not in accordance with the exigent demands of modern phonetics, which only the trained linguist can fulfil. Consonants are used with their values in English, and vowels with their values in Italian, long and short signs being added only where confusion might otherwise arise between two words of similar sound. Diacritical signs have been used only in the consonants ṭ, ṛ and ḥ. While the dental t, rendered by the Nagri character त , is transcribed by simple t, the cerebral t rendered in Nagri by ट, is transcribed by ṭ. Similarly the soft r, र in Nagri, is transcribed r, and the hard ṛ, ड़ in Nagri, as ṛ. The letter ḥ stands for a sound closely resembling the German ch in Bach (pronounced like the composer). This sound occurs mainly in words of Marathi origin, and in such words most Gonds not familiar with Marathi pronounce it not as sh, but h; examples are (*goḥti* (word, speech) and *paḥti* (favour) pronounced in pure Marathi as *goshti* and *pashti*; but I have transcribed these and similar words as pronounced by the Gonds in the hills.

Following the spelling of the Linguistic Survey and Trench's Grammar, I have used *w* for all *v*-sounds, except in proper names occurring in the English text, and in words borrowed from Hindi in which *v* is

4: Fürer-Haimendorf E-5 (1942-1945) 1948
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more familiar. Deviating from Trench, who employs double-consonants to indicate the shortness of the preceding vowels, thus spelling *wittana* (to run) in contrast to *witana* (to sow), I have dispensed with double-consonants; in words such as *waṭtana* (to put) the two consonants represent different sounds. Diacritical signs are confined to the Gondi texts, and are not used when an italicized Gondi word occurs in the English text.[1]

Those familiar with Gondi will notice that the language spoken by the Raj Gonds of Adilabad differs both from the Betul Gondi of Trench's Grammar and the Gondi spoken in South Chanda outlined by the Rev. S. B. Patwardhan.[2] A distinctive feature of Adilabad Gondi is the frequent substitution of an initial *s* for the initial *h* of both the Betul and the Chanda dialects. Thus the Adilabad Gond pronounces *surana* (to see) instead of *hurana*, and 'no' is *sile* in Adilabad but *halle* in Betul. While in the nominative the Gonds of Betul usually drop the initial *n* inherent in the first and second person of the personal pronoun and say *ana* (I) and *imma* (thou) the Gonds of Adilabad use the full form *nana* (I) and *nime* (thou).

The Gondi of southern Chanda described by Patwardhan, follows in the choice of the initial *s* and *h* the Betul usage, but has often *l* where both Adilabad and Betul Gonds pronounce *r*. Thus the Chanda Gond, like the Hill Maria says *lon* (house), while the Adilabad Gond pronounces the word clearly with *r*, *ron*.

Further comparisons between the three dialects would be beyond the scope of this work, but although Betul Gondi contains a good many words not familiar to the Gonds of Adilabad and probably *vice-versa*, and the language of South Chanda is strongly influenced by Telugu, speakers of the three dialects have on the whole no great difficulty in understanding each other.

Raj Gonds of Adilabad on the other hand find it almost impossible to understand or make themselves understood to Hill Marias of Chanda but in going through the texts given in Grigson's *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* I found that with a knowledge of Adilabad Gondi it is easy to recognize many Maria words, some being identical and most very similar in both dialects. The pronunciation and intonation seem however, to be so divergent that to those familiar with the Adilabad idiom Maria is more easily understood written than spoken. Ethnologically it would be extremely important to ascertain the affinities of those words in the Bastar dialects which do not occur in the Gondi of the Central Provinces

1. The student of Dravidian languages will find an extensive selection of Gondi texts in Nagri script in the series "Hyderabad Gondi Literature," which I am editing in collaboration with Mr. S. B. Jogalkar for use in Gond schools. So far the following numbers have been published: *Hyderabad Gondi Reading Chart for Adults* 1, 2, and 3 (Hyderabad, 1943); *First Reader for Adults* containing stories and Riddles (Hyderabad 1944); *Gondi Primer* (Hyderabad 1944); *First Gondi Reader* (Hyderabad 1946); *Three Epic Poems* (Hyderabad 1946); *The Legend of the Surpe Folk* (Hyderabad 1947); *The Myth of Manko* (Hyderabad 1946).